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on "several occasions" the recommendations of the commission (on Poland) were "very substantially modified or quite set aside" (p. 72). Dr. Bowman goes even further. "Directly thereafter the Council of Four was organized, where decisions could be reached without the bother of territorial experts" (p. 161). There are also contradictions apparent between the chapter on Constantinople and the Balkans, by Dr. Bowman, and that on the Armenian Problem and the Disruption of Turkey, by Professor Westermann. Both of these are particularly interesting and able discussions, but Dr. Bowman writes as skeptic and realist while Professor Westermann writes as a disappointed enthusiast and idealist. In spite of such overlapping, the incompleteness of the record is evident from the fact that Shantung is nowhere mentioned.

The volume is therefore very far from being in any sense a history of the Conference and it was doubtless not so intended by the individual contributors. It is valuable as giving the attitude of American delegates and their impressions of the Conference shortly after the events. Since discussion almost everywhere centres on the American attitude, and of necessity slights the claims of other nations involved, it is unfortunate that Colonel House and Professor Seymour should have chosen the title *What Really Happened at Paris*. The contents of the volume would have been more truly denoted had it been called "The Case of the United States at the Peace Conference".

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

Russia Today and Tomorrow. By PAUL N. MILIUKOV. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xii, 392. \$2.25.)

THIS new volume of Professor Miliukov is the result of a series of lectures, delivered in America in the autumn of 1921, at the Lowell Institute in Boston, Columbia University in New York, the Civic Forum of New York, and the Western Reserve University in Cleveland. Since the lectures were delivered at so many different places there is a certain lack of continuity in the volume, which makes it somewhat inferior to Miliukov's first American book. *Russia and its Crisis* has long ago become a classic of Russian history, both in Europe and the United States. The historical value of *Russia Today and Tomorrow* is due chiefly to the importance of contemporary events, and to the testimony of a man who took a prominent personal part in the revolutionary months of 1917.

The first two chapters, Why the Revolution could not be Averted and Why the Bolsheviks got the Upper Hand, are a brief summary of the historical foundation of the Revolution; the American reader will find a much more detailed explanation of the revolutionary movement in *Russia and its Crisis* and in Masaryk's volumes *The Spirit of Russia*. In chapters II. and III. the author tries to explain the main

principles of Bolshevism, giving also the reasons why these new ideas got such a firm hold on the Russian people in 1917 and 1918; much of this is already well known to the reading public of the West.

Chapter IV. is devoted to the rôle played during the Revolution by the many different non-Slavic nationalities of the former empire of the tsars; there are some very valuable parts in it, especially concerning the Baltic states, the Caucasus, and the Ukraine; historians will find here a plausible explanation of the Russian point of view, in particular toward the Little Russian question. Chapter V. is somewhat disappointing; Miliukov endeavors to sketch in it the Foreign Policy of the Bolshevik Government, but lays far too much stress on one point only, namely, the Bolshevik idea of a world-revolution; that it played a great rôle in the Bolshevik policy in general can hardly be doubted, but one has good reason to think that the Bolshevik leaders have faith in it some time ago.

The two following chapters, VI. and VII., dealing with the history of the anti-Bolshevik movements and of the decline of Bolshevism, are really the most valuable and interesting part of the volume. The author gives a detailed and impartial account of the events of these last years and explains clearly the reasons for failure and disappointment, emphasizing the liberal and progressive Russian point of view. Every impartial historian of the Bolshevik régime must carefully study Miliukov's analysis, even if some of his conclusions may seem questionable; these chapters give the volume permanent scientific historical value.

In chapter VIII., Miliukov endeavors to explain the causes of the terrible famine of 1921-1922, rightly pointing out the faults and mistakes of the Bolsheviks. Chapter IX. is a sketch of future possibilities in Russia, as seen by a thorough liberal. Chapter X., on the other hand, is devoted to the Far Eastern question and was inspired by the proceedings of the Washington Conference. The author shows how much Russia suffers from the constant baneful interference of Japan, citing very valuable proofs concerning the recent events in Siberia and the situation in the Russian Far East; some of the facts mentioned in the book relating to Japanese exploitation and selfishness are really appalling and have a great historical value, explaining many of the recent happenings in Eastern Siberia.

The last chapter, XI., deals with Russia's contribution to the world's civilization. It is far too brief to cover the whole field and leaves an impression of hurried work and superficiality; it could have been omitted without much harm done to the rest of the volume. The English style is not equal to that of his former work. Nevertheless the book of Miliukov will unquestionably retain its historical interest for a very long while.

S. A. KORFF.